

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00533 01 OF 02 241717Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----241719 030221 /41

O 241515Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5369

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0533

NODIS

DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY, HABIB AND HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (CLIFFORD, CLARK M.)  
SUBJECT: CLIFFORD MISSION: REPORT ON ANKARA VISIT

1. SECRETARY CLIFFORD REQUESTS THAT THE FOLLOWING REPORT BE PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT.
2. BEGIN TEXT. THIS CONSTITUTES THE REPORT OF CLARK M. CLIFFORD TO THE PRESIDENT WITH RESPECT TO THE ANKARA PORTION OF HIS MISSION TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.
3. WE MET ON FEBRUARY 21 AND 22 WITH THE TOP OFFICIALS OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, THE PRIME MINISTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF AND OTHER MILITARY LEADERS, THE DEFENSE MINISTER, THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, MR. ECEVIT, AND OTHER OFFICIALS.
4. THESE MEETINGS WERE LONG, INTENSIVE AND FRANK. THROUGHOUT WE RECEIVED THE MOST COURTEOUS RECEPTION AND EVIDENCE OF A STRONG DESIRE OF TURKISH LEADERS TO IMPROVE THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP. MORE IMPORTANT, ALTHOUGH OUR MESSAGE WAS TOUGH, WE BELIEVE WE RECEIVED, SOMEWHAT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 00533 01 OF 02 241717Z

UNEXPECTEDLY, A POSITIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE THAT MAY LEAD TO MOVEMENT IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS.

5. BASIC MESSAGE. WE TOLD THE TURKISH LEADERS THE FOLLOWING: OUR GOVERNMENT BELIEVED IN A STRONG US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP; WE BELIEVED IT TO BE IN OUR INTEREST AND IN TURKEY'S INTEREST TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE

NATO RELATIONSHIP; IT WAS THE BASIC DESIRE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTE THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT THAT HAD BEEN SIGNED; THE ATTITUDE OF OUR CONGRESS LARGELY UNCHANGED; AND DISCERNIBLE IMPROVEMENT IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION WAS NECESSARY IF THE DCA WAS TO BE PUSHED TO ENACTMENT BY THE ADMINISTRATION. THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY SHOULD BE PARTNERS IN A PROCESS OF STRENGTHENING OUR RELATIONSHIP AND GETTING THE DCA ENACTED. TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE PARTNERSHIP MUST BE TO ENCOURAGE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. WE RECOGNIZED TURKISH SENSITIVITIES ABOUT LINKING CYPRUS TO THE DCA AND ALSO THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF THIS ISSUE IN THEIR FORTHCOMING ELECTION. WE MADE NO PUBLIC MENTION OF ANY CYPRUS/DCA LINK, AND SELDOM REFERRED PUBLICLY TO CYPRUS AT ALL.

6. TURKISH RESPONSE. THE TURKISH LEADERS EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN ABOUT THE ARMS EMBARGO AND THE NEED FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE DCA. THEY DESCRIBED THEIR LONG ASSOCIATION AS A TRUSTED NATO ALLY; THE LONG HISTORY OF CYPRUS WHICH HAS NO CLEAR RIGHTS OR WRONGS; AND EMPHASIZED THAT AN ARMS EMBARGO WAS NOT A PROPER WAY TO TREAT AN ALLY. THIS PRESENTATION OF THE TURKISH POSITION WAS GENERALLY MILD AND WAS NOT COUPLED WITH ANY THREAT TO PULL OUT OF NATO OR TO PERMIT THE US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP TO DETERIORATE. ON THE CONTRARY, THE TURKS SEEMED -- IN PRIVATE, OF COURSE -- TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT CYPRUS AND THE DCA ARE IN REALITY LINKED AT LEAST IN THE EYES OF THE CONGRESS. WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS, THE TURKS GO BACK TO  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 NICOSI 00533 01 OF 02 241717Z

1959 AND PRESENT A LONG LIST OF GRIEVANCES, INCLUDING USE BY THE GREEKS OF US ARMS IN CYPRUS, WHICH THEY POINT OUT DID NOT RESULT IN A US EMBARGO OF GREECE. THEY ARE CONVINCED, FURTHERMORE, THAT THEY MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION BY GETTING THE RECENT ROUND OF MAKARIOS/DENKTASH MEETINGS STARTED.

7. THE AEGEAN. WE STATED THAT WE HAD FOUND A FEAR IN GREECE OF POSSIBLE EXPANSIONIST INTENTIONS ON THE PART OF TURKEY, PARTICULARLY WITH REFERENCE TO THE AEGEAN. THIS WAS EVIDENCED, IN GREEK EYES, BY THE OCCUPATION OF CYPRUS, THE DISPUTE OVER AIR SPACE, THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND TERRITORIAL WATERS, AND THE SISMIR VOYAGES. WE INDICATED THAT THE UNITED STATES TOOK NO POSITION ON THE AEGEAN ISSUES AND HAD NO DESIRE TO INTERFERE BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS, BUT THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS ALWAYS CONCERNED WHEN TWO OF ITS ALLIES HAD DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM.

8. TURKISH RESPONSE ON THE AEGEAN. IN RESPONSE THE TURKS ARGUED THAT THEY HAD GOOD HISTORICAL, EQUITABLE AND LEGAL

ARGUEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE COMPLEX AEGEAN ISSUES AND NOTE THAT GREECE WAS TURNED DOWN BY BOTH THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE WORLD COURT. TO THEM, GREECE APPEARS NOW TO BE RAISING PROCEDURAL ISSUES TO IMPEDE AND DELAY SUBSTANTIVE TALKS. THE TURKS FURTHER NOTED THAT GREECE HAS MILITARIZED ISLANDS OFF THEIR COAST IN CLEAR CONTRAVENTION OF PROVISIONS OF THE TREATIES BY WHICH GREECE ACQUIRED THE ISLANDS, INCLUDING THE TREATY OF PARIS TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS A SIGNATORY. THEY ASKED WHY THE UNITED STATES

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00533 02 OF 02 241719Z

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

-----241720 030236 /41

O 241515Z FEB 77

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5370

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 0533

NODIS

DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY, HABIB AND HARTMAN

DOES NOT EMBARGO ARMS TO GREECE IN RESPONSE TO THIS TREATY VIOLATION. THE TURKS CATEGORICALLY REJECT THE IDEA THAT THEY ARE AN EXPANSIONIST POWER. THEY DISCLAIM ANY HOSTILE INTENTIONS AGAINST GREECE AND ANY DESIRE TO TAKE ANY OF THE GREEK AEGEAN ISLANDS. THIS VIEW WAS ESPECIALLY ELOQUENTLY PRESENTED BY OPPOSITION LEADER ECEVIT WHO INSISTED THAT HE AND THE PRESENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT STOOD TOGETHER IN THIS MATTER. THEY VIEW THE AEGEAN PROBLEMS AS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES OVER DIFFICULT MARITIME RESOURCE ISSUES, AND BELIEVE THEY CAN BE RESOLVED BY THE TWO COUNTRIES THEMSELVES THROUGH SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY BELIEVE THAT GREECE TAKES AN UNREASONABLE POSITION IN VIEWING THE AEGEAN AS AN EXCLUSIVE GREEK SEA.

9. THE POSITIVE RESPONSE. DURING THE COURSE OF OUR PRESENTATION TO THE TURKISH OFFICIALS, I STATED THE NEED FOR MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE WAY. I TOLD THEM THAT WE HOPED THEY WOULD ACTIVELY

CONSIDER OUR DISCUSSIONS AND THAT WE DID NOT EXPECT AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE. THE MESSAGE CLEARLY REGISTERED UPON THE TURKISH LEADERS. AT OUR FINAL MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND HIS TOP AIDES, WE DID RECEIVE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 00533 02 OF 02 241719Z

A RESPONSE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, IN A CAREFULLY WORDED STATEMENT, FIRST REPEATED THE BASIS TURKISH POSITION, BUT THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT TURKEY WISHED TO BE COOPERATIVE IN THIS MATTER, AND THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD PRESENT A CONCRETE PROPOSAL AT THE MARCH 31 INTERCOMMUNAL MEETING IN VIENNA, WHICH WE AGREED TO HOLD IN THE CLOSEST CONFIDENCE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER PROPOSED FURTHER THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE GREEK SIDE WOULD PRESENT A CONCRETE TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL, AND IMPLIED THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN ATHENS AND NICOSIA IN OBTAINING SUCH A STEP BY THE GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR.

10. I RESPONDED TO THEM, AFTER A CAUCUS WITH AMBASSADOR MACOMBER AND THE MEMBERS OF MY MISSION, AS FOLLOWS:

(A) WE WERE GRATIFIED BY THE SERIOUS THOUGHT THEY HAD GIVEN THESE MATTERS AND THE PROMPTNESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE OF THEIR RESPONSE;

(B) THEIR COMMITMENT TO MAKE SUCH A CONCRETE PROPOSAL IN THE VIENNA MEETING COULD HELP LEAD TO PROGRESS;

(C) WE ASSUMED THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE REASONABLE, FOR OBVIOUSLY A POLEMICAL PROPOSAL WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE;

(D) WE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF SERIOUS TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS COULD ALSO BE ON THE TABLE;

(D) WE SHOULD OBVIOUSLY NOT DISCLOSE THEIR PROPOSED INITIATIVE, BUT WOULD DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITIES OF A TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL IN NICOSIA, LONDON AND WASHINGTON, AND WOULD KEEP THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY INFORMED, AND  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 NICOSI 00533 02 OF 02 241719Z

THEY SHOULD DO THE SAME WITH US.

11. I DID NOT HOWEVER, GIVE THEM MUCH REASON FOR OPTIMISM IN EXPECTING ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS TO TABLE SUCH A PROPOSAL. I REITERATED THAT THIS WOULD BE ONE OF THE MATTERS WE WOULD DISCUSS IN LONDON AND IN WASHINGTON AND WOULD REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH BOTH ANKARA AND ATHENS. I SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF ONE OR MORE THIRD PARTIES PRESENTING A TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL THOUGH WALDHEIM IF FOR POLITICAL REASONS MAKARIOS WOULD NOT.

12. I ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT THE NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA SHOULD WORK ON A SUSTAINED AND SERIOUS BASIS RATHER THAN HAVE A MERE PRO FORMA MEETING. THE TURKS SAID THEY AGREED WITH THIS AND WOULD DO THEIR BEST TO ASSURE TURKISH CYPRIOT COOPERATION.

13. BECAUSE WE PROMISED THE TURKISH LEADERS THAT THEIR PROPOSED INITIATIVE WOULD NOT BE DISCLOSED BY US, AND BECAUSE THE INITIATIVE MIGHT BE IMPERILED IF IT WERE PUBLICLY ASSOCIATED WITH OUR VISIT TO ANKARA, WE REQUEST THAT THE GREATEST CONFIDENTIALITY BE ACCORDED THIS INFORMATION UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT IS MADE PUBLIC BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. WE ARE NOT CERTAIN THIS COMMITMENT BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WILL LEAD TO REAL PROGRESS, BUT IT DOES CONSTITUTE A CONCRETE COMMITMENT AND WE WERE PLEASED WITH THE ATTITUDE OF THE TURKISH LEADERS.  
END TEXT.  
CRAWFORD

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, AEGEAN, MEETING REPORTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 24-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977NICOSI00533  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** OA  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** P850056-2237, N770001-0653  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** NICOSIA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770213/aaaaalor.tel  
**Line Count:** 251  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** f964c1bf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3241281  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CLIFFORD MISSION: REPORT ON ANKARA VISIT  
**TAGS:** PREL, OVIP, PFOR, TU, GR, CY, (CLIFFORD, CLARK M)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/f964c1bf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009